

# PEACE NEWS

No. 383

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2d.

## DEATH FOR DEMOCRACY

### At the End of the Road to "Victory"?

**F**OR the first time it has been openly acknowledged that some of the stubborn recurrent and unofficial strikes are due to war-weariness. The incessant strain of total war is beginning to tell.

But the war-weariness of the Barrow strikers is said to be of a particular kind. They struck because they were tired, and welcomed the opportunity of a let-up.

But they had a particular cause for striking. They were desperately anxious to secure by a definite wages award their position after the war. They were afraid of what is to come.

In other words, they are physically weary of the war; and they are spiritually weary of it also. They have ceased to believe in the promises made to them of a better and juster society to follow. And they may well be sceptical. It is quite plain, from the tone and temper of his speeches, that Sir William Beveridge has ceased to believe that his proposals for social security will be honestly implemented.

If the war were to end tomorrow, the fundamental social and economic structure of this country would be unchanged from what it was in the pre-war era of mass-unemployment, distressed areas and malnutrition. Nothing has been done. The war-rhetoric of Mr. Churchill covers an emptiness of constructive policy which is terrifying.

#### Dangerous Negligence

Terrifying, because in that void the chances are heavy that democracy itself may perish. The strains which are accumulating are tremendous. All the unresolved social problems which made the pre-war years so lamentable and dispiriting a chapter in British history are still present, still unresolved, and their disruptive potentiality is steadily increasing. Total war itself is the only remedy we have for the process of social disintegration. It seems incredible that a statesman should deliberately do what Mr. Churchill is doing, that is, behave as though total war were a real and positive remedy for the extreme diseases of the British body politic.

Yet it is impossible to put any other interpretation upon his sustained and massive silence on the social and economic issues which are quite fundamental to a tolerable post-war society.

"The questions that matter most to the people of this country; the questions of highest policy—the prevention of want, the use and control of the land, the realities of demobilization, industrial re-equipment, overseas trade policy, transport co-ordination, civil aviation, and social administration—all these must apparently remain without even interim replies, and certainly without legislative answers, so long as the voice of Downing

by **John Middleton Murry**

Street cannot find time from its vast strategic exercises to speak or choose a spokesman in its stead" (Economist, Oct. 2).

But, alas, though these questions are quite crucial to the shape of post-war society and will determine the welfare of its members for good or ill, they do not matter to the average man and woman. They do not understand how utterly their lives depend upon them. The current issue of the Christian Pacifist is on the mark when it declares:

"As a model of the fighting spirit Mr. Churchill must be outstanding, not only in our own generation but in the whole history of war. His robust and unwavering faith in violence, his impervious contempt of all considerations that do not minister to victory, his boyish relish of combat and the simplicity by which he can conceive quite unimaginatively of operations of war in terms of a strenuous game or adventurous escapade make him the embodiment of that spirit which lurks in the masses of the British people but is seldom so frankly manifested in any one person. 'There are no sacrifices we will not make, no length in violence to which we will not go.' Something very primitive in every man will respond to that supreme battle-cry. A nation at war could hardly have a better hero; a nation proposing to make lasting peace could hardly have a worse."

#### Churchill Has Failed

Genuine political consciousness at a time of unprecedented world-revolution such as this, is quite beyond the capacity of the ordinary man. It is foolish to pretend otherwise.

It is therefore the duty of a democratic leader to instruct him. Mr. Churchill has failed, and is failing, absolutely in this duty. He is using the terrible weakness of modern democracy to destroy democracy. Not deliberately. I have no doubt whatever that, if Mr. Churchill knew what he was doing, he would act differently. It is Mr. Churchill's ignorance that is appalling.

War, and war only, is his métier; war, and war only, is his element. But war, and war only, is a chimera. Blake called "those who take portions of existence and fancy that the whole"—the Devourers. And Mr. Churchill is precisely what Blake meant by a Devourer. He is a monomaniac of war.

The continent of Europe is moving now, by great leaps and bounds, towards chaos. Everywhere the legions are preparing for the insanity of civil war, or already waging it. It is being waged in Poland, it is being waged in Yugoslavia, it is being waged in Italy. There are two distinct armies of Frenchmen preparing to liberate France from the Germans and from each other. These are harbingers of the reality of the "victory" which Mr. Churchill pursues with fanatical single-mindedness and undiminished popularity. And the

terrible thing is that his fanaticism most powerfully contributes to his popularity. It is a relief, in this intolerably complex and incomprehensible world, to have a single, simple aim—"victory." It saves the average man, as it saves Mr. Churchill, the trouble and the downright pain of thinking.

#### Wanted: a Purpose

Nevertheless, this escape from reality cannot go on for ever. In a little while the chaos may be so great that even the mechanics of the pursuit of victory will become impossible. You cannot even wage war—the lowest of all the pursuits of civilization—in chaos, or against it. And the time may be near when the armies will be seeking to prop up one another as the only possible instruments of order.

So, in the domestic realm, the time may be near when the vast and monstrous machine begins to slow down through weariness of body and emptiness of spirit. As "victory" dissolves in chaos, the false simplification of the Devourers will be manifest. You cannot worship a lie for ever. The inward rottenness of the situation must at some point declare itself.

Just as there will be no romantic and triumphant finale of this world-revolution by marching with banners into Berlin, so there will be no neat and tidy entry into the post-war Eldorado. Only the reality of a post-war purpose in the last resort will be able to keep the war-effort alive; and by giving reality to post-war

## HOW TO END WAR

How to link together the vast majority among all peoples who "would rather have peace than war" and "abolish war on, say, Dec. 25, 1943" was the problem set by a reader who offered prizes for the best suggestions. The following proposal, awarded the first prize, is by **JOHN C. CRACKNELL**

9, Albert Road, Evesham

**A**PPROACH the Pope, still the most influential voice in Christendom, to make a declaration that:

- (a) War is murder.
- (b) It is unlawful for Christians to bear arms, and
- (c) Call upon Christians everywhere to renounce war.

Further:

- (d) To invite all denominations to sink their prejudices in the interests of peace and appoint representatives to a World Conference in Rome on international order and economic justice.
- (e) A world day of prayer.
- (f) World wide publicity of the findings of the Conference.
- (g) Call to Christians everywhere to unite in a deepened spiritual life.

Other prize-winners, and fuller details of the competition are given on page 2.

purpose the nature of the war-effort would be revolutionized. The specious unity of aimless war can construct nothing.

## PACIFIST COMMENTARY: EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

### The Barrier to Peace

"You will never give imagination to those who have none: that is why war is possible."

**O**NE of the greatest of modern French writers, who was an army doctor, wrote that in 1916 at the end of one of his stories of his hospital experience. I read it during the dreary butchery of the Somme. It went straight to my heart, or my soul, or whatever it is that is the innermost quick of human life. There it stayed, till it became part of my being. It has been part of my being ever since. How much of my life I have spent as it were staring at that proposition, God only knows: but, if sheer "intensity of speculation" (as Keats called it) be the true measure of a man's actual living, then it is a very great deal.

Today, I find myself staring at it again. The fearful story from Calcutta, the fearful story from Athens, the fearful stories of starvation from the European continent—and the obvious fact that they make no real impression on the minds and hearts of men, set me wondering once again whether anything short of vast and universal catastrophe, on a scale a thousand times greater than even this world-war, will bring men to accept the necessity of peace.

#### Symptoms of Insanity

"PROPHET of evil!" said the war-chief to Calchas, "you have never spoken a word of comfort to me." The war-chiefs of today would not even listen to a Calchas. And it is no

great fun for the pacifist Calchases to share their forebodings of gloom with one another. Still, it is our job, under Providence, to speak the truth as we see it.

And what a truth it is! The world moves as with the speed and certainty of a thing predestined—to a yet insaner anarchy than that it sought to escape by war. Even the daily press is beginning to jib at some of the cruder manifestations of the insanity inherent in the process of World-War II. Even the Daily Telegraph (Oct. 8), for all its belief that the Government is infallible, lifts the blinkers and rubs its eyes at the spectacle of Generals Ambrosio and Roatta, listed by the Yugo-Slavs as war-criminals for their brutalities, being included in the Badoglio Government. This is really, says the DT in other language, a bit too thick!

#### Did the Germans Know?

**T**HE Italian affair is a kind of cosmic joke. 30,000 Italian soldiers surrender to 6,000 Germans on the island of Rhodes. The British, engaged in some antediluvian campaign, put an HMS Pinafore landing-party on the precious airfield of Cos, evidently on the assumption that the Germans would know that they have lost the war. The Germans, taking the wrong cue, returned and captured the island and the Englishmen.

It seems that it would have been much simpler if the Italians had remained enemies and not aspired to "co-belligerency." Can those miserable Germans have known it, and connived at the transference of an ally who would give the Allied commanders a permanent headache?

One has the impression of a set of British generals, looking through the notes of their Sandhurst lectures to find something on the subject of world-revolution and how to avoid it—in vain.

#### Domestic Variety

**N**EARER home, the approaching insanity takes slightly more (Continued on page 2)

## THE SHEPPARD PRESS

**A**T the last meeting of the Council the proposal received general but informal approval that the press which the Peace News fund is to establish shall be called The Sheppard Press. By a happy coincidence, the announcement falls to be made in this issue of Peace News, which commemorates the 9th anniversary of Dick Sheppard's sending the famous letter to the Press which created the Peace Pledge Union.

Still happier would be the omen if at the meeting on Saturday it could be announced that the fund had reached £5,000. Progress towards that first great goal has been steady and sustained. Long live the Sheppard Press!

Contributions during the past fortnight: £40 18s. 4d. Total to date: £4,889 19s. 3d.

#### THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

## Dick Sheppard: an Anniversary

Tomorrow—Saturday, Oct. 16—is the ninth anniversary of the date on which the late Dick Sheppard sent his letter to the press, inviting men who agreed with him that the time had come to renounce war to send him their signature to the Peace Pledge.

The Peace Pledge Union, which grew out of that letter, will tomorrow hold an anniversary gathering at Friends House, Euston Rd., London, W.C.1. Many provincial members are expected to attend, as well as large numbers from London itself.

A leading article on Dick Sheppard appears on page 2 of this issue.



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## Dick Sheppard and the Personal Relation

**T**HE remarkable thing about Dick Sheppard (and it has been said often enough before) was not the kind of parson he was, the kind of leader he was or the kind of success he was, but that on which these depended, the kind of man he was. He was a personal man, a man with whom it was possible to have a personal relationship (and impossible to have an impersonal one). This can be truly said of very few people. We are all persons in some degree and capable of personal relationship in some degree, at least with those we "take to" and "understand"; but we are forced to leave the rest of the world out of our lives. Dick's relatedness, on the other hand, was so wide that it could embrace people of most widely differing kinds; and he was able not only to establish relation between them and himself, but to use himself as a bridge between them and one another: a miracle (in a disassociated world it is rare enough to be no less) which he frequently performed within the ranks of movements, congregations, and so forth, with which he was connected.

Dick did not speak, or only very rarely and obliquely, of the relation which existed between himself and God. It is not a thing of which, if it is real, a man can speak with coherence; the wise man knows that it is inexpressible. Yet this relation too must have been a personal one. God is a spirit, but Jesus, who was God and man, is the bridge by which personal man reaches God and establishes personal relation with God. It seems more than likely that, while all we saw and understood was Dick's relatedness on the human level, this relatedness had its sources in a rightly established relation with the spirit. For anyone who has experienced a full human relation will know that it does not begin and end on that level, but continually refers back to, illumines and is illumined by, whatever the individual regards as God.

There would seem to be two great lessons to be drawn from Dick Sheppard's life and personality; and they in fact are only restatements of very old ones. The first is that there is no human relationship of any worth without relation with God; that we shall not achieve love for our neighbours or be worthy of marriage, friendship, or international peace, until this relation is established. And the second is like unto it, that human relationship is a necessary fulfilment of our being, the reason why we have been endowed with senses, minds, and a capacity for love, and the means by which we grow in consciousness: that, in turn, there is no relation with God except in the light of relation with our fellows.

This may appear to be a paradox, and so it is; and so love always is. The point seems to be that charity begins at home, and that from charity at home, or in the heart of a man, follow the other charities: domestic happiness, civil peace, and peace between States. Dick Sheppard really did live in love and charity; for that reason, war was in some sense unrealistic to him, no longer a human necessity (as it is, whether we like to admit it or no, for most of us). The problem of how charity



DICK SHEPPARD

Photo: Howard Coster

is achieved has only one answer, for charity, like the human relations which depend on it, is always a giving, a giving of one's self, to God, to life, to man, without fear and without withholding. And the problem of how the courage and faith necessary for this self-surrender are

achieved has only one answer too, for courage and faith come only through suffering. The establishment of relation is always the acceptance of the cross; it is the death of the self and the resurrection of the self. Which is another paradox, but one through which Dick Sheppard found his way.

R.H.W.

### COMMENTARY

subtle forms. Mr. Morrison expiates on the beauties of post-war control, while minor ministers inveigh against its ugliness—an encouraging manifestation of democracy in being—or cold storage.

But the most authentic utterance of this England this week is that caught from the lips of Sir William Jowitt, by the Manchester Guardian, Oct. 11. It concerns that new charter of British freedom: the Beveridge Report. The Government, says Sir William, now hopes to publish "within the next few months" a White Paper

"showing the progress which has been made on the major problems and, in respect of some matters, setting out considerations on which further consultations and the development of an informed public opinion will be desirable before conclusions can be reached."

#### The Last Straw

**W**ELL, well. The country is probably hay-wire enough by now for the Churchill Government to get away with that. It probably can get away with anything at a level lower than the insistence of a secondary school headmistress that one of her pupils should have a change of shoes.

As Mr. Churchill himself lately said: "Tyranny is our foe, whatever trappings or disguises it may wear, whatever language it speaks, be it external or internal. We must for ever be on our guard, ever mobilised and vigilant, always ready to spring at its throat."

And the lion-hearted BP has sprung accordingly at the headmistress's throat. More coupons have been scraped up for a hundred destitutes, more space than could be spared that day for the starving Bengalis.

#### "Watchful Waiting..."

**O**DD things are happening everywhere. Perhaps, under the circumstances, it is not so odd that Mr. Paul Winteron reports that the Russians are not going to be convinced that the British-American idea is to win the war on the cheap until casualties become comparable. But what about this?—"Since the formation in Moscow of the Association of German officers and the swamp-

### Continued from page 1

ing of the Free German Committee with generals, the propaganda transmitted to Germany by men of the standing of the Stalin-grad general, Seidlitz, takes the line that Germany must surrender now while there is still a chance of escaping unconditional surrender, and of maintaining some of its military strength." (Economist, Oct. 2.)

And how neatly it fits with the arguments being used by Senator Chandler, one of the five US Senators who lately visited Europe and gratified the US Senate with a picture of big-hearted America being "outsmarted" by Britain.

"Privately, they argue that if Germany is defeated first the Russians will be able to cease fighting, while Britain will be able to govern the extent of her participation in the war in the Far East. Furthermore, the USA will have no lever to use against the Russians for securing Russian bases against Japan." (Reynolds, Oct. 10.)

The five senators call for "a watchful waiting policy towards Russia until after the tripartite conference." And Stalin, on the other side, without having to call for it, pursues a watchful waiting policy towards USA and Britain, which has once more decided that M. Benes has decided to postpone his visit to Moscow.

#### Russia's Intention

**T**HE indescribable confusion, as I have insisted before, is not accidental, but inherent in the situation. There appears to be no possibility at all of a really concerted policy between USA, Britain, and Russia towards Europe.

Meanwhile, if we may trust the military experts, the Russian capture of Nevel in the north, and the establishment of three bridgeheads across the Dnieper, has not been according to the German plan. Commonsense whispers to me that the Germans could hardly have intended to hold the Dnieper line permanently, because it is by no means the shortest. But commonsense is no guide to the operations of war. As far as the evidence goes it is entirely compatible with the declared Russian determination to end the war, as far as they are concerned, this winter if they possibly can.

#### Getting There First

**M**Y own private notion is that, before very long, we shall find Russia and the Western Allies bidding against one another for the capitulation of the German army in good order: as a guarantee against anarchy in at least one part of Europe.

My feeling, for what it is worth, is that in the last three or four months the process of disintegration in Europe has been vastly accelerated; and that the Russians, for at least three good reasons, will be able to jump in more quickly than the Western Allies: the three reasons being (1) their complete unity of military and political action; (2) their knowing much more definitely what they want; (3) their entire lack of fear of peace.

## COMPETITION WINNERS

**I**N our issue of July 30 we published the offer of an anonymous reader of prizes totalling six guineas for the best 100-word answers to the following:

"As about 90 per cent. of all the peoples of all nations would rather have peace than war, I offer the prizes for the three best suggestions of the simplest way to link these people together and abolish war on, say, a certain date: say Dec. 25, 1943. The thought I would like to see take concrete form has nothing to do with the causes of war or economics or politics; it just works on the simple fact that the majority of all classes and races of people desire to abolish war and live in peace."

The adjudicators were the Editor and editorial staff of Peace News. The prize money has been divided between five entries, the first (published on page one) receiving two guineas and the following one guinea each. The practical agreement of the first four entries is impressive; the fifth is awarded a prize for its imaginative-ness.

### SECOND PRIZE

*Petition Heads of Churches to persuade Governments to revive the Truce of God for four days at Christmas.*

*In those four days, every belligerent adult to be put to simultaneous election: Shall war continue or not? Properly appointed neutral commissioners to preside.*

*In the event of a majority everywhere for peace, the Truce to become permanent. Undemocratic Governments refusing referendum would testify their fear of popular opposition to the war.*

*Above procedure to become part of future International Law, operative every Christmas from outbreak of war. A new Grotius needed, basing participation in war on consent, not compulsion.*

A. CHALLEN, Severn House, Harcourt Road, Llandudno.

### THIRD PRIZE

*Believing in "the innate holiness of the heart's affections," the only way to stop the war, and war altogether, in my opinion, is for someone to appeal to the rulers of the world's peoples on that ground. The Pope appears to be the only person who could make this appeal. Broadcast the world over unceasingly from now on, the idea is not inconceivable that the will might arise in the soldiers to lay down their arms, the workers to cease toil on armaments, longing as they are for home life again. The rulers would thus find themselves unable to continue warring.*

E. STILL, Woodlea, Heathfield, Sussex.

### FOURTH PRIZE

*This December the war will have gone on as long as the Great War. The vast majority of people in all lands know what misery wars always cause, and would rather have peace. Many cannot face yet another winter without knowing when the Armistice will be. All have been children once; most have children of their own. Christmas Day for years has been the Feast of the Child. At this season, men and women of different nations and religions can be filled with goodwill to all. If Love is in every heart, then on 25th December 1943, war will end.*

R. GUNDRY, 14, Sutherland Av., W.13.

### FIFTH PRIZE

*... and this is Frederick Allan reading it. Further reports from Mount Wilson Observatory confirm that the recently discovered "rogue" star is to pass the earth seventeen months hence at a distance of forty-seven thousand miles.*

*This, astronomers predict, will create electric storms and tornadoes on a scale never seen before. Vast areas of land are likely to be denuded of vegetation and top soil; humanity and animal life would almost certainly have to live temporarily underground. Allied governments are taking a grave view of the matter, and the Prime Minister will make a statement after the Cabinet meeting this weekend...*

E. COOMBER, 11, Holford Street, Tonbridge, Kent.

### The Libertarian Anarchist Movement

is a group of people whose aim is to increase the knowledge of modern anarchist thought—Kropotkin, Read, Lohr. If free discussion and critical thinking appeal to you, write for details of weekly meetings and monthly news letter to P.B. Top Flat F, 12a Colville Sq., W.11.



## "OWLGLASS" on ARMS and the MALE

REFERRING to the abolition of the Sam Browne belt, an article before me bears the gloomy headline, "Swords No Use Now."

It is true that a weapon that kills only one person at a time, and damages only a soldier, while leaving his wife and children intact, is practically useless in a civilized community. There is, however, still a use for the sword.

I come fresh from the enlightening experience of reading Edward Hulton's "The New Age." Representing the views of an influential newspaper proprietor, it is important. For what such men think today, the public thinks tomorrow. Or, vice versa. I'm never certain which comes first.

Discussing the education of the future, and the necessity for compulsory military training, Hulton says:

"The young man should take pride in arms, indeed should frequently carry them, to prove to himself and others that he is willing to fight for what he believes in."

And again, "... to increase their sense of manliness, and to assert a democratic independence and perpetual defiance of the political State."

★

THIS raises the question: What arms should he carry? Observe here four reasons for carrying arms. To prove—

- (1) that he is a man;
- (2) that he is a democrat
- (3) that he will fight for what he believes in;
- (4) that if necessary he will start a revolution.

Observe further that all relate to demonstration, rather than to action. Also that two of the four are to remind himself of something, as one might tie a knot in a handkerchief.

The weapon, therefore, is to be a symbol, not an instrument of utility. Size and scope are important. It must be easily portable. Any really efficient weapon—bomb, Tommy-gun, even the almost obsolete rifle—would be awkward in a crowded bus. And none but managing directors could afford to drive to work in a tank.

It must not be so small as to get mixed up in his pocket with pipe and penknife, but large enough to be a perpetual reminder of its presence.

For this purpose there is nothing better than a sword. Should a man's political enthusiasm decline, he has only to trip over his sword while chasing a bus, and he will remember he is a democrat.

In moments of weakness, when he feels a prey to effeminate emotions, he need only catch a shop-window reflection of the sword dangling at his side, to announce, with a burst of renewed self-confidence, "It's a male!"

★

THE carrying of weapons, therefore, greatly simplifies the education of men. That of women offers greater difficulties. This is one:

"Women should be trained to be women. Unfortunately, it has not yet been decided what a woman really is."

This is undoubtedly a snag. You cannot train a creature unless you know what it is. Circus proprietors tell me that if you wish to prepare an animal for a trapeze act, you must at least make certain that it is not a hippopotamus.

We know what a man is. He is a thinking creature that cannot prove what he thinks without killing somebody; a male animal that has to carry lethal weapons to remind himself of his gender.

A woman has no such obvious

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## The NUMBER ONE Job

By Robert D. Leakey

The Number One job in the world today is to destroy war. We must look on war as a disease, like plague. It is the foulest disease that has ever stood in the way of mankind's progress and civilization, and it is the most difficult and dangerous that man has ever had to face.

One reason why it is so hard to cure is because, like opium, war is enjoyed by some men. They get rich making the tools to wage it with, and they like the thrills and the excitement that go with it, until, like the drug, it gets them down.

ONCE we look upon war as a disease, we can set about doing something to destroy it. Man is as much a destructive animal as he is a creative one. His civilization is made up as much by the things like diseases that have stood in the way of his progress and have had to be destroyed, as it is by the things he has created.

In fact, it is easier to get men to unite to destroy something—a nation, a Hitler, or a plague—than it is to get them to unite to create something, like a Federal Union or a League of Nations. We shall have more people agreeing with us if we state our aim as being to destroy war than if we say we are out to create a peaceful world.

Men's creative instincts are best satisfied in making their home, or in their hobbies, or their business or profession. It is their unsatisfied instinct for destruction, this vast latent energy, that we must pour out to stifle and destroy war rather than use it like fuel to feed the flames of death by fighting in it.

### WAR THE CANKER

Look closer at this thing we are to destroy and see to what extent this disease has eaten into the sick world and into ourselves.

Firstly, it has created the armament industry for making tools for the purpose of slaughter, and which, next to agriculture, is now about the biggest industry in the world.

Secondly, in our society we educate our children to believe that it is an honourable profession, that of devoting their time, even their whole life,

to becoming proficient at killing and destroying other people. The heroes we teach them to emulate are almost always people like Nelson, Napoleon and Wellington, who were kings in this slaughter profession and probably caused more human life to be destroyed than anyone else in their generation!

### BY-PRODUCTS

When, therefore, you consider the millions of people who depend for their livelihood on making machinery to kill with, and those millions more who are brought up to glorify and condone this art of destroying human beings, it is hardly surprising that society throws up as its by-products people like Hitler, Napoleon, Churchill, and whole systems like Nazism and Fascism!

To destroy Hitler and the Nazis, or for them to overrun England and abolish Churchill, will not help to remove the disease of war by one iota. We shall still have our armament industry and be educating our children to think it glorious to go forth to kill or be killed, and soon more Hitlers or Churchills will be produced to lead other wars.

### A NEW PATRIOTISM

And patriotism, too! The notion of Poles, Czechs, Arabs, Jews, Germans, or Englishmen being conscious of their blood differences should be destroyed. The world we must work for is one in which the countries of Europe are conscious of their individuality only in so far as Surrey, Yorkshire, or Lancashire are conscious of theirs.

## Once Upon A Time ...

In one of the galleries of the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a bound volume of the Illustrated London News for 1842. It is open at a page dated June 16 and at the top of the page is written:—

### DESTRUCTION OF CITY OF HAMBURG

THIS sad and deplorable event, which rendered destitute so many thousands of our fellow-creatures, continues to excite the liveliest sympathy, not only among the mercantile communities of the civilized world, but among all classes of individuals, from the Sovereign on the throne to the lowliest shopkeeper. We rejoice to see that the most liberal subscriptions continue to pour into the calamity fund from France, Austria, Prussia, Denmark, Germany, and, though last, not least, from our own benevolent and kindhearted community the citizens of London. ...

Comment seems to be superfluous.

earmarks. Hulton himself has little to tell us about her, beyond that air-raids proved she has as much physical courage as man, and that it is regarded as "indecent" for her to fight. So he concludes:

"Modern thinkers have not yet decided what the differences are, or what is the proper sphere of feminine activity."

WHO, it may be asked, are these thinkers. It is these weapon-carriers with the inferiority complex who don't know what to do with women. The female thinkers haven't been asked.

This is natural. Being so uncertain of themselves that they have to carry weapons to remind themselves of their own identity, men naturally fear the competition, in sphere-determination, of creatures so self-assured that they can get through life without having to go about threatening everybody like hydrophobic dogs.

We have, however, certain negative information about women. We know what a woman is not.

She is a creature who does not have to kill people to prove that she has beliefs; who does not have to carry artificial aids to her own strength and courage. And she is so superior in personal standards that the most characteristic activity of a man is "indecent" for her.

For these reasons I think a woman's proper spheres of activity are fairly obvious: Education, Government, and the Church.

### Letters to the Editor

#### Coal Mining For War

It is evident that another problem for pacifists is likely to arise from the possible direction of COs to work in the mines. One attitude of the conscientious objector seems to me to be clearly determined by the following considerations.

Coal mining is obviously looked upon as top-grade "carry-on-the-war" work. The placing of it on a par with, and as an alternative to, joining the armed forces is proof of this. To the statement that one will be making use of fuel oneself in the coming winter, an obvious reply appears to be that the extra labour is clearly rendered necessary by the increased demands of war factories, war transport, "new offensives," etc., and that if these war drains on the coal supply were to cease, it would be quite adequate for ordinary consumption.

IVAN BEUTLER

Flat 04, Beatty House,  
Dolphin Sq., S.W.1.

#### Labour Problem

The problem of overproduction has a solution not mentioned by Ivor Edwards ("Community and the Peace Movement," PN, Sep. 17) but which should commend itself to pacifists. The solution is that as large a portion of the population as possible should engage in work which is unproductive in the ordinary sense, namely medical research. If the furthering of medical research were incorporated into the post-war plan immediately after "bread" and before any "circuses" or unnecessary leisure, the increased amount of work needed to keep all these people in unproductive work would go a long way to solving the problem of overproduction and unemployment.

CAECILIA E. M. PUGH, M.Sc., Ph.D.

Burden Neurological Institute,  
Stoke Lane, Stapleton, Bristol.

The patriotic Englishman or Pole of the future must be the one who glories in his country having produced the man who did most to destroy tariff barriers between nations, or who introduced a single form of currency throughout the whole world. It is such men who should be held up as heroes to schoolboys, and the Napoleons, Wellingtons, and Nelsons should be de-graded as the perverts of history, like Guy Fawkes.

To be a truly patriotic Englishman is to be proud that one's country has a movement like the Peace Pledge Union before other countries have, and to be prouder still if one's country can be the first to lead the world in the destruction of war.

### LIVING TOGETHER

That countries like Germany, France, and England can never "live together" is a ridiculous supposition.

No two nations have perhaps hated more or fought more fiercely than the Scots and the English, and yet, just a few generations later, her ex-enemies have produced England's Prime Ministers and governors, just as Hitler, an Austrian, governs Germany. Given freedom from the disease of war, a few generations hence we may see the local Council of Germany being governed by a Pole, or a Jew, and perhaps a Dane at the head of the Federated World Government!

But first we must destroy war. We must kill the war mentality in people, debunk national patriotism, and stifle the armament industries by first taking them out of the hands of private owners, and then limiting the profits.

We are yet a small body; but so were the first Socialists and Communists. Our time will come when "war sickness" spreads through the fighting forces and people of the world, and when the cry for human decency and peace percolates through the suffocating fingers of controlled propaganda and opinion, as some day it is bound to do.

It is for that time that pacifists must be ready with an organization and capable leaders fit to grasp the responsibility of government when it begins to slip through the bloody fingers of those who hold it now. Then only can we fully use the machinery of education and propaganda to direct the huge force of human destructive power in killing the causes of war.

## FRASCATI

"IT had been discovered that the Nazi headquarters were at Frascati, a small town 25 miles south-east of Rome. After the attack scarcely a house remained standing.

... When our last bomber left, half an hour after the raid began, several hundred tons of bombs had levelled the town" (Daily Telegraph, Sep. 10, 1943).

*Frascati of the fountains  
And the noble Roman gardens,  
Terraced walks, and cypresses  
Dark plumes against the sky;  
Frascati of the olive groves,  
And the stately Roman villas  
Keeping watch on Alban heights  
Across the wide Campagna.*

*Scarcely a house left standing  
In the town that was Frascati  
Several hundred tons of bombs  
Have levelled all the villas,  
And a plume of smoke is drifting  
Across the wide Campagna  
From the ruins and the rubble  
And the cinders of Frascati.*

"O Singer of Persephone,"  
Who would not weep for Italy?

ETHEL MANNIN

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# "AN ERA OF FEDERATIONS . . . OR A PURGATORY OF A THOUSAND YEARS"

"THE 20th century will open the Era of Federations, or Humanity will enter a purgatory of a thousand years" predicted Proudhon, perhaps the least known in this country of all the great Continental political thinkers of the last century.

Although a native of Besancon, on the border of the classic example of Federalism, the Swiss Republic, his federalist opinions developed slowly. This development has been traced in a masterly exposition of Proudhon's ideas of Federalism by M. Nicolas Bourgeois.

As long ago as 1858 Proudhon pointed out that the true obstacle to despotism was in a federal union: Switzerland had remained a republic because, like the United States, she was a federation. In "The Federative Principle" (1862) he emphasizes the good which would result from federal organization in Europe, in facilitating trade, through a Customs Union, and the carrying out of huge schemes of public works.

"France," he declared, "will some day give to the world the signal for disarmament, on the understanding that whilst she disarms the others will not arm: whilst she disbands her army and decentralizes her administration, organizes her communes, and gives back to the provinces, and to all those little nationalities on which Imperial France is based, their own life, others during that time will not cynically concentrate and arm against her."

## Basis for Nations

Twenty distinct nations, he observed, composed the French nation: Flemings, Corsicans, Normans or Scandinavians, Bretons, and so on. It was not bad, said he, for the fraternity of nations that there were in France Flemings, Basques, Germans, Italians. It taught people that what made a nation was not accidents of soil and varieties of race, but Justice and Rights. These rights were to speak one's own language, and keep one's religion and one's customs—rights which could be assured without the arbitrary constitution of sovereign States.

In his last work, "France and the Rhine," a warning which his countrymen would have done well to heed, he shows that the frontiers of a State are the creation of politics, and not of any economic necessities. Frontiers have very rarely coincided with such natural obstacles as rivers or mountains.

Federalism, Proudhon says, must be realized by contracts freely agreed, on the condition that the contracting parties always reserve a part of their sovereignty and right of action greater than that which they abandon. It is not concerned to create super-States, which absorb their confederates, and obliterate their individualities. A Confederation is not a State; it is a group of States, sovereign and independent. Each race, each language is mistress in its own territory. They covenant (1) to govern themselves mutually, and co-operate with their neighbours; (2) to protect themselves mutually against the enemy from without and the tyranny from within; (3) to join together in the interests of development. Neither an absolute State nor one which tolerated slavery could form part of a Federation.

## Preserve Small Units

Not only was the individual too weak to preserve his rights in a vast and powerful State, and ran the risk of being oppressed, but the intermediate collectivities, the family, the city, and the province, were all crushed. By Federalism the modest collectivities could be safeguarded. But the sudden creation of a United States of Europe, without modification of the structure of the different Powers, would crush the little States. Europe was too great for a Federation. It could only form a Confederation of Federations.

The little nations must be able to ally themselves to the Federation without losing their personality; and as to the great, they would have to give some degree of independence and autonomy to the diverse elements of which they were composed. The ideal to be reached was a state of affairs where nationality will cease to be exclusive, and it will be permitted to every individual travelling for busi-

## ALFRED S. ROSEBOTTOM describes Proudhon's Peace Plan

ness or pleasure, to become a citizen of several countries.

Far from encouraging disunion, said Proudhon, Federation was a source of strength. In 1861 he declared: "Make in France twelve federated republics, and you will find France as young as in 1793." He also envisaged the creation of a Scandinavian Federation, an Hispanic Federation, and many others.

Monarchies and republics, deluded by the unitary principle, far from achieving the liberty which they aimed at, proceeded to arm against their own people, and treat them as belonging to a conquered country. Under the Federalist system, annexations would be useless, because people admitted into the Federation retained,

if they so desired, their customs, language, and laws.

Proudhon predicted that the fate of a unitary Italy, rejecting federalism, would be to oscillate perpetually between disorder and despotism. He foretold the danger to Austro-Hungary of its restriction of autonomy to Hungarians. Yet Belgrade, which profited from the mistakes of Vienna, failed to learn the lesson, and Warsaw has been as tyrannous to the Ukrainians, as the Serbs to the Croats.

In Russia, where Proudhon's opponent, Karl Marx, reigns in the economic field, the former's federalism has, to a limited degree, found favour. But true federal autonomy is incompatible with the maintenance of unity of doctrine by a powerful police.

## Why the League Failed

The League of Nations complied with none of the conditions which Proudhon laid down for federations. Hardly one of its States was federal. Neither did it ensure protection against the tyranny from within, and the enemy from without, as Lithuania, the Ukraine, and others can bear witness. Nor were the sovereign States willing to surrender any part of their sovereignty. How could they be expected to surrender sovereignty in external affairs, when so few of them had, through de-centralization, conceded part of their sovereignty to the internal groups over which they had control?

There must be an obligation to carry certain differences before a High Court of Justice for arbitration, and an obligation to meet in the International Council with other States. Each group, Proudhon said, from the family to humanity, the commune, the province, the country, and the race, has its part to play.

As Renan said, "One will see the end of wars when for the principle of nationalities is established the principle that is its corrective, that of the Federation of Europe, superior to all the nationalities."

## ROSA HOBHOUSE tells the story of KING ASOKA

NEARLY 300 years before Christ was born there was a great king of India whose name was Asoka. He was very fond of hunting wild animals—stags and antelopes, wild boars and tigers—and he rode on a huge elephant when he shot at them with arrows.

What a fine and strange sight it was when Asoka started off from his palace! There were men in front beating loudly on gongs and drums, and, on each side of the King's elephant, soldiers on foot with spears, and others riding on horses or elephants. The king's road to the forest was railed off by ropes, and if any of the people who were watching came inside the ropes, they were put to death.

Asoka, with his queen and sons and daughters, was also fond of feasting. In the kitchen of the palace there was always a great-to-do; men and slaves running between the cooks and the banqueting hall, with fine dishes even more exciting than the pie of four-and-twenty blackbirds that was once set before another king! For Asoka dined upon deer and peacocks and boar's heads and all kinds of fruits.

Each day in the outer courts hundreds of creatures were slain to make curries, for there was always a host of guests at the king's table. This made the king feel that all the world belonged to him.

\* \* \*

But it was not so, and Asoka knew this too well. It was the one thing that spoiled all his pleasure-making. In India there was still the kingdom of Kalinga which was not under his rule. This vexed the king and the time came when he could no longer bear to think that they were not his subjects.

So King Asoka called upon his bowmen, each with a bow as long as he was tall, and with a shield of oxhide, and ordered his horsemen, who rode without saddles, to come together in one place. And when they were counted it was found that there were 600,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 horsemen and 9,000 elephants, besides a number of war-chariots. So this great host was sent out against the Kalingas to win their land from them.

After much fighting the news came that Asoka could now claim the kingdom of Kalinga as his own and there was a time of wild joy in the city where he dwelt.

This capital was itself nine miles in length, and in it there were 570 towers. Round it was a great wooden wall into which were built 64 gates. Truly Asoka was a splendid ruler sitting in his palace in the middle of this city with a kingdom which ran

from sea to sea, his fame going over the earth as the fame of the sun shines out over the sky.

But Asoka, splendid though he was, did not enjoy the love of all his subjects, and his servants and slaves lived often in fear of him. Stories are told of cruel acts, some of which may not be true. But when one tale after another comes down over hundreds of years it is to be feared there is at least a grain of truth in some of them.

Now even at this time, when he was making merry over the new land of Kalinga which he had just taken into possession, a change seemed to come over the King. Very soon his proud joy turned to sadness, and Asoka the hunter and the maker of feasts became Asoka the thoughtful.

He called together the scribes, those who were skilled in cutting out letters in stone, and ordered them to write down his thoughts on the face of a great rock:

"The king feels deep sadness because, when he won his victory over the Kalingas, so many were killed or taken away as prisoners. These sad things always happen when one country is conquered by another. Yes, and many others who are not hurt themselves suffer much because of the death of those they love. For all this misery which he has brought about Asoka is very deeply sorry."

These words of Asoka can still be read on the rocks in India today.

Then the king began to follow the way of Buddha, a great and good teacher who had lived in India many years before. The law of Buddha was the law of kindness to all living things.

So Asoka ordered that the hundreds of creatures that had been slain for his table should no longer be killed and he forbade men to set light to parts of the forest to drive out the wild animals by fire so that they could shoot at them for sport, as had been done before. From this time, when he saw the peacocks strutting about the gardens of the palace spreading out in a fan the beautiful hundred eyes of their long tail-feathers, or peering down at him from the branches of the tall cedar trees, he was able to think of them as his feathered friends.

\* \* \*

Then he called together all the commissioners and officers who ruled under him and told them also to show pity and good will to all the people and even to the wild forest tribes on the borders of his kingdom.

Also, if Asoka now heard of any travellers or their beasts of burden or slaves who had fallen by the way on the hot roads, he felt sorry that they should suffer. So he commanded that, to give them shade, trees should be planted all along the great roadways by which the merchants had to bring their goods and that wells should be sunk to provide water for both man and beast. Besides this he sent for every kind of herb which was known to serve as a medicine for sick people or for animals, and ordered that they were to be kept in readiness in dispensaries all over the land. Asoka gave help to all in sickness.

Nor did the King think only of those in trouble. He knew that merry making and the law of kindness went well together. So, instead of celebrations of a warlike kind, he now had processions in honour of Buddha, when brightly coloured cars and illuminations were displayed in the streets with flowers and sweet-smelling incense. All night long lamps were kept burning and those who were skilled in music added to the joy. This was to show that true happiness was the great gift which Asoka desired for all his people.

## WORDS OF PEACE—42

### Can't Happen Here?

A HUNDRED years hence [written probably about 1900] there will be some possibility of perceiving whether international relationships are likely to obey the law which has acted with such beneficence in the life of civilized people; whether this country and that will be content to ease their tempers with bloodless squabbling subduing the more violent promptings for the common good. Yet I suspect that a century is a very short time to allow for even justifiable surmise of such an outcome. If by any chance newspapers ceased to exist . . .

But I have been reading one of those prognostic articles on international politics which every now and then appear in the reviews. This writer, who is horribly perspicacious and vigorous, demonstrates the certainty of a great European war, and regards it with the peculiar satisfaction excited by such things in a certain order of mind. His phrases about "dire calamity" and so on mean nothing; the whole tenor of his writing proves that he represents one of the forces which go to bring war about. Persistent prophecy is a familiar way of assuring the event.

But what is it to me if nations fall a-slaughtering each other? Let the fools go to it! Peace, after all, is the aspiration of the few; so it always was and ever will be. The leaders and the multitude hold no such view; either they see in war a direct and tangible profit, or they are driven to it, with heads down, by the brute that is in them. Let them rend and be rent; let them paddle in blood and viscera till—if ever that should happen—their stomachs turn. Let them blast the cornfield and the orchard, fire the home. For all that, there will yet be found some silent few, who go their way amid the still meadows, who bend to the flower, and watch the sunset; and these alone are worth a thought.

Someone, I see, is lifting up his sweet voice in praise of conscription. It is only at long intervals that one reads this kind of thing in our reviews or newspapers, and I am happy in believing that most English people are affected by it even as I am, with the sickness of dread and of disgust.

That the thing is impossible in England, who would venture to say? Every one who can think at all sees how slight are our safeguards against that barbaric force in man which the privileged races have so slowly and so painfully brought into check. Democracy is full of menace to all the finer hopes of civilization, and the revival, in not unnatural companionship with it, of monarchic power based on militarism, makes the prospect dubious enough.

There has but to arise some Lord of Slaughter, and the nations will be tearing at each other's throats. Let England be imperilled, and Englishmen will fight; in such extremity there is no choice. But what a dreary change must come upon our islanders if, without instant danger they bend beneath the curse of universal soldiering! I like to think that they will guard the liberty of their manhood even beyond the point of prudence.

A lettered German, speaking to me once of his year of military service, told me that, had it lasted but a month or two longer, he must have sought release in suicide. I know very well that my own courage would not have borne me to the end of the twelve-month; humiliation, resentment, loathing, would have goaded me to madness.

From the Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft George Gissing.

## INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCHES

"A healthy public opinion must be created through the world for peace and against the cruelty of war."

"It is sad to think, in connection with the last Great War in Europe, the most awful that was ever fought upon the face of the earth, although the nations which fought against one another were in name Christian, that the influence of all the Churches of Christendom did not delay the outbreak of war by one hour, and that the bells of peace were not rung one hour earlier through any influence that came from the Churches . . ."

"One must have something that will affect the hearts of the people. The conscience of the people must be awakened so that they will hate the thought of shedding blood and will consider war a sin against humanity."

—Mr. Lloyd George, as Prime Minister, at General Assembly of Presbyterian Church of Wales, Jun. 15, 1921.



# CONSCIOUSNESS or AUTOMATISM

**M**AN can no longer be happy at his old level of consciousness; He must either drive himself into the oblivion of an automaton; lay down the burden of consciousness and become happy as an addict of the opiates which industrial society has to offer, or reach out to a new level of consciousness. Today this reaching out to a new level of consciousness has many forms and expressions, one of which is modern pacifism.

If I define pacifism as the attempt to express and propagate the values of a society in which peace is not a contradiction but a corollary to living, I think few pacifists would quarrel with my definition. Before one lives and propagates such values, one must first be conscious of them as real and vital. Moreover, the act of becoming conscious of them must in its nature be an individual act; indeed the act of apprehending values fundamental to pacifism is in many cases the synthesis of experience which has apparently little to do with war.

★

This preamble is necessary before I say what I have to say, namely that the consciousness which alone can equip men and women for the times into which we are moving cannot be taught. It is dependent on man becoming aware that his fundamental distinction from the animal kingdom is his ability to introspect.

The twentieth century, because it is a more escapist age than any which preceded it, has been prone to label any kind of introspection as a disease, a deviation from mental health. The pre-war press simply exuded such advertisements as "Do you brood? Are you a stay-at-home? Blodger's Blue Pills will cure you." Yet why in heaven's name shouldn't we brood? Surely an age which walked to its own funeral dressed in its shroud, is a proper object to brood on. As for staying at home, we dare not do it. For once a man gives himself to the task of creating what Eric Gill called "a cell of good living, in the chaos of this world";

by David Kennedy

then he will break for ever the spell of the newspaper, the radio, and the screen. And consciousness is something which a generation, which may be compelled to spend its fruitful years soldiering from John-o-Groats to Vladivostok, dares not accept.

Hence the pattern of the healthy Britisher today: clean-cut. (whatever that may be); golf and bridge, when he can manage to dash away from the office, and as for anything which he can't hit with his golf-club, well, none of your nonsense. If we accept Whitehead's definition of religion as "What a man does with his solitariness," then modern man has no solitariness and no religion. In fact the ethos of his age does not require that he should have any solitariness.

What is true of the worst aspect of industrial man, is true to a greater or less extent of all of us. For the feverish round of business and sport, there is the more responsible round of political activity, of meetings and publicity, and all the other attempts to take the Kingdom of Heaven by storm.

★

It would be specious to suggest that the core of our problem is just how to meditate more within the limitations of an industrial age. But I do suggest that in the humanist and progressive movements, there is not a right parallelism between economic awareness and true self-consciousness. Men know as never before that they are at war because of a crazy economic system, but of their own unconscious identification with that system they are ignorant.

The orthodox Marxian would, of course, affirm that there is only the economic awareness of a problem standing between it and ultimate solution. Yet history seems to point to another factor which I can only call personal integrity, without which any change conceived merely on the economic level is still-born. The modern distastefulness has shown us the type of monstrosity which mere economic awareness can create by itself. The

economic unity of part of Europe may well have been achieved by Germany. The solution is right in technique, but in the minds conceiving it, it is inhuman. To be conscious of the qualities which make life human is the prime necessity for anyone who would offer a solution to the present impasse of industrial man.

Clearly, the danger to Europe today is that so few of us are aware of the dehumanising process which has spared neither leaders nor led. To have economic security is not to be human; very often it means being less than human. More than ever today, man, where he is aware, is being compelled to start afresh, and with infinite patience dedicate himself to cherish and increase that quality which indeed is the distinction of what we call human. To me, the flower of human consciousness is love, and St. Paul has condensed into a few lines the barrenness of all human endeavour which is not illumined by love.

You cannot teach robots to love. Some people I have known seem to have been born with the heavenly quality. Others have made the effort, painfully, to retrace their way, and where they have succeeded, they have evinced a unanimity of outlook which cannot fail to impress.

★

This diagnosis of the malady of Western civilization cannot compare in sickness with those which would make the inquiry an exact science. And if, as I fear, modern man really believes the universe to be a-moral, then it is only sensible to devise an exact science of power, which will create an orderly race of automata. But there are still, I believe, millions who are convinced that the universe is neither pointless nor meaningless. Their struggle therefore, is to relate conduct to a meaningful, which is to say a moral, universe. The efforts and expressions of such a struggle will always appear to the superficial to be incoherent and inexact; such is the tyranny of our machine-efficiency minds.

On the other hand, to feel with the mass-movements of Europe today, that the universe is really a-moral, is inevitably to embrace the doctrine that "Nothing succeeds like success"; to which history with tragic repetition has always supplied the corollary—that the means become the end, and the end is worse than the beginning.

## The Machine and The System

[To the Editor]

**M**AY I express long-standing disagreement with Wilfred Wellock and others who believe that increased mechanization of work must necessarily mean increased dehumanization of labour? This point Mr. Wellock brings up once more in his recent article "The Fruits of Victory" (Oct. 1). Were he merely to state that capitalistic industrialization was dehumanizing, I may concede the point, but otherwise I regard this view as altogether mistaken.

Increased mechanization applied to industry or agriculture leads to a greater output per employee, thus extending the benefits of the commodity produced to a larger number of consumers.

Under capitalism increased output would result in fall of price, and the manufacturer in consequence may restrict output to keep prices high. This would cause unemployment, a natural outcome of capitalist organization. The workers' hours are no fewer than before the mechanization, while the profits of the increased industrialization go into the pockets of the capitalist as the wages of the men he has displaced by the introduction of his labour-saving machinery.

Outside capitalist organization, however, these profits of the labour-saving would be shared by the workers as a decrease of working hours, and an increased amount of leisure for recreation of the mind and body, further education, worship of God, and so forth. Under these circumstances what man could say industrialization involved dehumanization? It can be seen, therefore, that our problem is not to keep down or reduce industrialization, but to adjust our attitude of mind and way of life to the changing conditions of an evolving world.

Our solution is not to go back to a "simpler" life without the problem of industrialism as so many of our friends are attempting to do in their community experiments. This is escapism—the admittance of unwillingness or inability to cope with the advance in scientific knowledge by a similar advance in the form of our society. We must face the world as it is and shape our lives to get the fullest benefits from the advance in scientific knowledge. Our idealisms—call them Christianity, socialism or what you will—can and must define our way of life in this changing world. If we face up to these problems man can become master of the machine, and at last we shall overcome the evils of our present-day society—unemployment, unequal distribution of the world's wealth, and international strife, economic and military.

CLAUDE BIRTWISTLE

10 Tennyson Road, Colne, Lancs.

"What to Do in the Speakers' Class," by Florence Surfleet (Headley Bros., 108 Kingsway, London, W.C.2, price 2s. 6d., post 3d. extra) is a simple textbook for use by youth clubs and other groups. It covers not only the making of impromptu and prepared speeches but also story-telling, impromptu acting, imagined conversations, descriptions from life, discussion and leading discussion, poetry reading and writing etc. The suggestions may be used for written as well as for oral treatment by people working alone or in a group, and the book can be used without expert leadership.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.**  
The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

★ PPU HEADQUARTERS, ★  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## India's Critical Hour

**D**ESPITE statements in vague terms that food-ships are now being sent to India the death-rate from starvation is still rising in Bengal and other parts of the country. No really authoritative figures are given but even the tentative figure of 175 deaths a day from starvation in Calcutta (Observer, Oct. 10) is likely to be extremely conservative, for on Sept. 19 the Reynolds News Indian Correspondent reported:

"Hindu editors told me that a few weeks ago, as the number of deaths increased, they were prevented from publishing the complete figures."

An attempt has been made by the India Office to lay the blame for the famine upon the local Indian authorities and the Muslim Bengal Government in particular. These statements ignore the fact that we have placed under lock and key all the ablest of India's administrators, that we knew when Burma fell that a big regular food supply had been lost which would need to be replaced, and that we have been taking food from India in order to feed troops abroad.

While we are unlikely to know the full facts of the famine situation for some time to come, it is worth while remembering that during the last great Indian famine, at the turn of the century, Great Britain exported more than £1,000,000 worth of food grains from India in order to maintain the interest on British loans. Even today, while shipping space has been denied to carry food for the starving Indians for so long, luxury goods have continued to be imported for the European population, and while people have dropped dead from starvation in the streets of Calcutta, big hotels have been serving 17-course dinners (Reynolds News, Sep. 19).

### KEY TO SITUATION

The key to the whole famine situation is revealed by impartial observers to be the fact that the administration has not the confidence of the mass of the people. The British rulers are hated and the peasants and workers realize that the Indian administrators are fulfilling the function that Major Quisling has fulfilled in Norway. Analysing the situation the Observer Indian Correspondent says (Oct. 3): "Somewhere at an early stage of the war we took a wrong turning, probably when we failed to realize that the Indian political parties were more pro-Chinese and more anti-Japanese than we were, and had been anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist when we were appeasers. Their desire was to feel that the war was their war, but it still figures as a war to help Britain and save the Empire."

It is extremely important that all friends of India should realize that the famine situation is an integral part of the demand for independence. The facts of the situation must be made known as widely as possible throughout the country for once again some public interest has been aroused about India which must be turned into a constructive channel.

The background to the whole situation is clearly given in Reginald Reynolds' new pamphlet "The New Indian Rope Trick" (Indian Freedom Campaign, 8 Endsleigh Gardens, London, W.C.1, 7d. post free), and the immediate facts of the famine are contained in "Indian Famine, The Facts" (IFC, 2d. post free).

The Indian Freedom Campaign is organizing a big poster campaign throughout the country and urges local groups to help in the work by fly-posting the posters, holding poster-parades, organizing local meetings, distributing leaflets, writing to the press, sending personal letters to influential people, and by other means.

This is a critical hour in India's history, and much depends upon whether a clear-cut demand for Indian independence is made in this country. It is a big task but one which we need to undertake here and now.

GEOFFREY PITTOCK-BUSS

## OPEN LETTER TO PEACE PLANNERS

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

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## GERMANY'S FUTURE

Germany's Road to Democracy. Lind-say Drummond, 2s. 6d.

The contributors to this pamphlet—social-democrat, communist, liberal, scientist, woman, and pastor—make a significant contrast with the exiled German social-democrats who constitute the "Fight for Freedom" group; and yet, on many points, they are in agreement with them. Neither group, for instance, cherishes the illusion that the failure of the Weimar Republic was due entirely, or indeed primarily, to the duplicity of the Allied Powers: both look to an Allied victory for the liberation of Germany from fascism: each takes criticism of the Germans on the "home front" further than is legitimate for exiles enjoying the comfortable hospitality of a friendly people.

The analysis of the condition of Germany is also strikingly similar. The reactionary and self-seeking bureaucracy, the strength of the professional army, the divided and "mis-guided" forces of labour, no less than the power of the capitalist peak-association, share the responsibility. The *Herrenklub* of the large industrialists backed the counter-revolution, but Nazism also drew its impetus from the impotence of organized labour.

### GROUND FORS FOR HOPE

Here the unity ends. The "Fight for Freedom" group accept the Vansittart "interpretation" of history and look to a prolonged period of Anglo-American occupation for re-education. For them, there is no "other Germany"; unless indeed it is constituted by the handful of their supporters in this country.

In contrast, the contributors to this pamphlet have a faith in the German people and believe that "Germany can ultimately only be created from within." They take encouragement from the ten-point manifesto of the National Peace Movement, from the appeal of Professor Huber and the insurrection at Munich University, from news of isolated anti-fascist demonstrations and, not least, from the formation in

Moscow of the National Committee "Freies Deutschland."

This last is comforting if only because "one can hardly imagine the Red Army taking steps to stop a proletarian revolution." They are, advisedly, less sure about Britain and America. It is the social-democrat who states most plainly the case for a "cleaning-up period of revolutionary government," which follows from the need for the disfranchisement of the active supporters of Nazism. There is, in fact, unity on the necessity for retribution and punishment, but that the practical consequences have not been fully measured is illustrated by Victor Schiff who lists, quite moderately, the personnel of the SS, the Gestapo, the leaders and underleaders of the SA, the Army officers guilty of atrocities, and then writes this:—

"Probably by the time all this is done—and it will involve such figures that the Allies may well become embarrassed when it comes to the practical test—a good deal of retribution will have been satisfied, and the clamour for indiscriminate vengeance will subside, thus making the way free for a reasonable settlement of other problems."

### RE-EDUCATION

On the important question of moral re-education, it is, curiously, the Marxist who has the most enlightened thing to say:

"Give them the basic moral principles of humanity, some of the ten commandments which have been the spiritual basis of Judaism, Christianity and, indeed, every modern civilization."

And it can be assumed he would welcome the help of the Confessional and Roman Churches. But it is also left to the Marxist to reveal the inherent contradiction of linking the recovery of individual initiative to the Allied war effort:

"The re-education of this (German) Youth can be effected in no other way than under the heavy blows of defeat at the front, the blows of the Red Army."

And again, "From war-weariness . . . yearning for peace . . . terror of bombing and horror of millions of casualties . . . doubts of Hitler's victories . . . military defeats . . . a relative majority of the population can be activated for the overthrow of Hitler's war regime. This is the truly national way out for the German people; this is the democratic road to peace, this is the political revolution against fascist dictatorship."

"The national way out" it may be. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive another. Political revolution may well follow—given the protection of the Red Army. Such "protection" will also ensure the establishment of centralized socialism, which is the only way for Germany to escape the power of the Army and capitalist groups. But socialism and democracy are not so easily reconciled. The democratic road to peace will indeed be long and arduous and the importance of exiles for the post-war development of Germany must not be overrated. Yet the unity of thought in this symposium makes it a useful contribution to the discussion of Germany's future: and one that should be read.

DONALD PORT



## GREECE BEGS FOR FOOD

"Our heart fails in grief at the anguish and misery of Greece, our Motherland, under the yoke of the oppressor. Our country has been divided as a spoil by her enemies. She has been stripped and plundered. Their bread has been snatched from the mouths of her children."

"Her strong men who have escaped the sword faint with hunger. Her little ones are dying at the top of every street. In our agony we stretch our hands to Thee, our God, who alone can save us."

THESE moving words from the prayer composed by Dr. Germanos, Archbishop of Thyatira, for the service of intercession in St. Paul's Cathedral on Oct. 6, have been echoed by two other Greek spokesmen recently.

Mr. George Exintaris, former Greek Cabinet Minister, who recently escaped to the Middle East and made an eloquent plea for additional relief supplies, has now arrived in London "as a representative of the principal political parties in Greece to make known the conditions in the country, particularly in regard to food" (Times, Oct. 5).

"Unless more food is shipped to Greece during this winter," he told the Evening Standard (Oct. 7), "it is feared that there will be a repetition of the terrible shortage of the winter of 1941-2 when in Athens alone 35,000 people died from starvation in five months."

The third Greek spokesman was Dr. A. P. Cawadias, president of the Greek Red Cross, one of the speakers who addressed a conference of the Association of Scientific Workers in London on Oct. 2. Dr. Cawadias said that the terrible conditions of malnutrition in Greece were a challenge to medical science.

At the same conference, Dr. A. Marteau, director of St. Pierre Hospital, Brussels, while supporting the view that large-scale immediate relief would assist the enemy, asked that an exception should be made for the Belgian children.

### Pressure on Authorities

Vigorous action is being taken in many parts of the country to press the demand for immediate relief for occupied countries, and there is significant news of similar activity in the United States.

"Pressure is being felt in Washington now both for immediate steps to feed the starving people of Europe and for immediate steps to save the Jews in Europe from extermination," according to the News-Chronicle (Oct. 7). "Senator Taft, Republican, of Ohio, is one of a group which is supporting a resolution demanding that the US shall find a way—without helping the enemy—to avert the 'impending tragedy of mass starvation' in Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Poland, Greece and Yugoslavia. A sub-committee that has been appointed to go into the question announces its intention of taking the advice of ex-President Herbert Hoover, who has several times urged immediate shipments of food to Europe."

Hoover is expected to testify on Nov. 4. Almost simultaneously comes the news that the second United Nations Food Conference—at which it is expected that problems of immediate relief will be discussed—will be held also at Hot Springs in the near future. It is already overdue.

### Local Example

The example of the Famine Relief Committee at Beckenham might be followed by other local committees.

Following a shop display and a successful public meeting addressed by Vera Brittain, Beckenham invited their Member of Parliament, Sir Edward Campbell, to address a public meeting on the Government's policy in refusing further measures of controlled relief.

(Continued at foot of next column)

The Co-operative War Resisters Association invite Peace News Readers to

## A PUBLIC ARMISTICE MEETING

at HOLBORN HALL, Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1, on Sunday, Oct. 17, at 3 p.m.

Speakers: Mrs. Mary Grindley  
James Hudson  
Frank Fordham  
Winifred Rawlins.

Chairman: G. F. Dutch.

Meeting in connection with the Armistice Resolution which has been placed on the Agenda of the L.C.S. members' meetings to be held Oct. 19 to 25.

## "End War Soon, or..."

A STIRRING plea to pacifists to throw more of their energies into the PPU Campaign for a Negotiated Peace was made by Dr. Albert Belden, the distinguished Congregationalist minister, and Mr. Henry Hilditch, West Midlands organizer of the campaign, at a public meeting, attended by about 100, in Birmingham on Friday of last week.

Dr. Belden contended that unless bold, resolute leadership was given to end the war fairly soon there would remain after famine, destruction and devastation very little of civilization for anyone to save.

Mr. Hilditch said he was convinced that latent among the people was a willingness to listen to the voice of reason and to the plea for negotiated peace.

Mr. Joseph Southall also made a short speech, and Mrs. Anne Jones, presiding, mentioned that in connection with the Negotiated Peace Campaign regular open-air meetings were being held in the Birmingham Bull Ring and in suburban centres.

The PPU West Midlands Area is issuing from The Grange, Wythall, Birmingham, Speakers' Notes containing many items of interest to supporters of the Negotiated Peace Campaign.

### "ATTRACTED LARGEST CROWDS"

Donald Ward, 10 Grosvenor Rd., Orpington, writes:

"The leading article in PN, Oct. 1, admonishes the movement generally for its failure to understand the urgency of pressing for a negotiated peace. The Bromley (Kent) region was divided on the question. For some months the matter was left severely alone. Then it was suggested that those who did support the Negotiated Peace Campaign ought to venture in faith. Accordingly two open-air meetings have been held in Bromley during the last month and, despite the fact that meetings on Famine and India have been held fairly regularly for the last twenty months in the same spot, the Negotiated Peace meetings attracted the largest crowds; further, at the second of the two meetings, was the largest number of local PPU members ever known to support

an open-air meeting on any subject in Bromley, including some who were originally opposed to holding such meetings."

### WOMEN'S MOVE

A letter from the Hon. Secretary of the Women's International League published in the News Chronicle on Sep. 29, said that on behalf of the executive committee of the WIL, a "memorial, signed by leading women throughout the country, has been sent to the Prime Minister," asking for "an immediate effort... by the British Government to secure the publication by the United Nations of such peace terms as might bring nearer the end of the war..."

### LIDA GUSTAVA HEYMANN

The international pacifist movement mourns the loss of a great and brave German woman, Lida Gustava Heymann, vice-president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Born in Hamburg in 1868, Miss Heymann devoted her youth to improving the horrible state of hidden prostitution and white slavery. The first world war made her, already an ardent lover of all creatures and a militant vegetarian, an active pacifist. In 1915 she started building up an international body of radical pacifists. As one of the first suffragettes in Germany, Miss Heymann, in collaboration with her friend Dr. Anita Augspurg, edited the women's monthly Frau im Staat (Woman in the State).

The German section of the Women's International League was from the beginning of the new Dark Age one of the most active opponents of Nazi-tyranny, its members being constantly persecuted and their meetings broken up. After the collapse of the Republic Miss Heymann and Dr. Augspurg were able to find a refuge in Zurich. Here she started again to organize resistance to war and violence.

She worked for the benefit of humanity until her last hour, and died in her seventy-fifth year, on the same day as Jean Jaures—Jul. 31, 1943. The world lost a great internationalist. I lost a good friend.

F. Gross

### P.N. SHOP IN MANCHESTER

A publicity display to advertise Peace News will be held in a shop in Deansgate, Manchester, from Monday to Saturday next week (Oct. 18 to 23). Help will be needed in the shop and any reader in the Manchester region who can assist is asked to communicate with the PPU regional office, 41 John Dalton Street, Manchester, 2.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### LAND & COMMUNITY

WANTED. Smallholding with cottage, to rent. Preferably Home Counties. Box 124 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG C.O. seeking smallholding, market gardening, 18 months' experience, wishes meet similar wanting partnership—50-50. Marrying. Furniture. £200-300. Box 123 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### LITERATURE, &c.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, etc.; without obligation. Write for list Marshall as above.

GIFT FOR C.O.s in prison. "How Green Was My Valley." Relatives write, Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

STOP BOMBING CIVILIANS! A new edition, with additional notes, of the pamphlet issued by the Bombing Restriction Committee, together with the Committee's latest leaflet, "Bomb, Burn and Ruthlessly Destroy." 4d. post free, from the Hon. Secretary, 49 Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3.

### MEETINGS &c.

BIRMINGHAM Advisory Bureau invite you to a social on Oct. 30 at Moseley Rd. Friends' Institute from 3.30. Tickets 6d. (to help C.B.C.O. funds) from Geoffrey Ayre, Dick Sheppard House.

EDINBURGH. John Barclay, Wednesday, Oct. 20, 7.30 p.m. Peace Centre, 44 Frederick St. Peace News readers cordially invited.

NEXT ex-prisoner C.O. breakfast 9 o'clock Oct. 31 8 Endelsteh Gdns. All are welcome.

### PERSONAL

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

A COMFORTABLE post offered man and wife in preparatory boarding school (15 miles London). Food production and cooking. Good pay and holidays. Apply: Principal, Brookhouse School, Turnford, Brookhouse.

ASSISTANT HOUSEKEEPER wanted for farm house. Write Secretary, Community Farming Society, The Laurels, Holton Beckering, Wragby, Lincs.

COMFORTABLE bed-sitting room for couple, wife help in house, good wages, reference required. Clarkson, 16 Nasco Rd., Watford, Herts.

FRIENDS' East London Centre requires WARDEN. Permanent post with wide scope for man with sense of vocation and ability to develop religious, social and educational work on community centre lines. An experienced GIRLS' CLUB LEADER also required. Applicants please send fullest particulars to the Bedford Institute Association, Quaker Street, E.1.

GOOD WAGES and comfortable home offered to mother's help. Two children—aged 3½ and 8 months. Taylor, "Brannocks," New Forest Lane, Chigwell, Essex.

LAKE DISTRICT Pacifist Community offers accommodation from now, and during autumn and winter to people in need of holiday. Ex-prisoner C.O.s welcomed. Terms reasonable and according to means. Write: Secretary, CO Community, West Vale, Far Sawrey, Ambleside.

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## Fire Guard: More Changes for C.O.s

WHEN the new Fire Guard Orders were issued, the CBCO took up with the Ministry of Home Security the way in which the proposed relief to COs who were "prepared to do voluntarily the requisite duties" was to be operated. It is now learned that a forthcoming amending Order will probably make the position clearer.

One of the changes likely to be included is to revoke the clause that appeared to make COs (who had already been prosecuted for refusing to register under the Compulsory Enrolment Order of 1942) liable to be prosecuted again either for failing to report or failing to register under the new Order before they could be enrolled for duty by the local authority. In future, it seems probable that local authorities will be empowered to enrol those convicted under the 1942 Order without any further steps in the way of report or registration. In the meantime, prosecutions of such persons for failure to report or failure to register under the new Order are highly unlikely.

In many districts new registrations are being held this week-end (Oct. 16/17).

Further representations are proceeding on the whole issue. The position under the new Local Authority Services Order is explained in Broadsheet 7—"Fire Guard Duty under your Local Authority" (CBCO, 2d.; 3d. post free).

On Jul. 5 three COs, Vincent Copestake, Harry Mountain and John Arthur Roberts, were prosecuted at Nottingham Summons Court for failing to do part-time civil defence duties as directed and each was given the maximum police court sentence—3 months and £100, with a further three months in lieu of the fine. They appealed to Quarter Sessions, and on Oct. 6 at Nottingham their sentences were reduced to a straight three months for each defendant.

Admitted by counsel for the Ministry of Labour to be of unimpeachable character, Una L. Forward, 22-year-old member of PPU headquarters staff and a member of the Society of Friends, was fined £5 or 21 days at North London Police Court on Oct. 6 for refusing a direction to attend an interview. She objected to compulsion for war purposes and went to prison. She is now in Holloway.

DISPLAYED Advertisements. MAXIMUM space allowed: Three column-inches. LATEST TIME for copy first post Friday.

MAN AND WIFE wanted as wardens of pacifist rest house—London. Particulars from P.S.B., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

MEN WANTED for market gardening near Bath. Reply stating experience. Box 114 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SHERWOOD SCHOOL COMMUNITY. Epsom, needs helper; mainly matroning, some junior teaching if qualified; board, lodging and pocket money.

WANTED part-time caretakers (husband and wife) for Friends' Meeting House, Gt. Wilson St., Leeds. Particulars from B. Binns, 21 Oakley Ter., Leeds, 11.

### SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O. AND WIFE require joint position pacifist undertaking, land or community. Box 125 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MAN, 22, trade joiner, requires job with carpenter on agricultural work; or with market gardener, 2 years 8 months experience. S.W. preferred. Box 127 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MARRIED C.O., age 34, exper. 15 months, desires farm work in Home Counties with cottage. Box 61 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate: Tel Ambergate 44).

WYE VALLEY (and Forest of Dean). Guest house in own parkland 150 acres. Very tranquil. Mild district. Delightful walking centre. From £3. "Lindors," St. Briavels, Glos.

### MISCELLANEOUS

MRS. J. HAMILTON, psychologist, correct breathing; simple, scientific, rejuvenating health and vitality. Consultations daily. Western 8935.

## THE ADELPHI

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